3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

manship, their terrible charge, the unequalled rapidity with which they load and discharge their fire-arms, and their insatiable hatred make the enmity of these Indians more dreadful than that of any other tribe of aborigines."[1]

These are the people of whom this book is written.

To themselves the Comanches are "The People." They call themselves *nɜmɜnɔ*, from the root *nɜm*, meaning "human beings." It is not that they failed to recognize other peoples as human, too (they had no racist dogmas), but other tribes were less than Comanches, and *they* were "The People."

The English language had no word for them originally, of course. Nor did the Spanish. But the Spaniards of New Mexico enjoyed first contact with the Comanches and gave the tribe the name by which they were later to be known by Spaniard and American alike.

Early French explorers and the few Americans who penetrated the Great Plains early in the eighteenth century knew the Comanches under their Siouan name, Padouca. But Lewis and Clark, in 1804, knew them only by hearsay and older records. They mentioned the great Padouca nation, "who occupied the country between the upper parts of the river Platte and the river Kanzas," and who "were visited by Bourgemont, in 1724, and then lived on the Kanzas river. The seats, which he describes as their residence, are now occupied by the Kanzas nation; and of the Padoucas there does not now exist even the name."[2] The Padouca had dropped out of existence for the Americans until they were met again as Comanches far to the south a generation later.

It was the Spaniard who taught us to know the Comanches as Comanches. For many years the meaning of the new tribal name was obscure; for it had no roots in the Spanish tongue. Then, nine years ago, Marvin K. Opler unlocked the door to the mystery with a simple key. "Comanche" means "enemy"—not in Spanish but in Ute. In Ute, the word is more exactly rendered *Komántcia*, which in a fuller sense means "anyone who wants to fight me all the time." Generically the Utes applied this term to the Comanches, Arapahos, Cheyennes,

[1] J. T. Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies (1839)* (vol. XXVIII of R. G. Thwaites [ed.], *Early Western Travels*), I, 149.

[2] M. Lewis and W. Clark, *A History of the Expedition of Captains Lewis and Clark*, I, 36–37.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

and Kiowas—all of whom they fought. After 1726, however, the Comanches became the special enemies of the Utes, who fixed the word *Komántcia* on them. The Spaniards picked up the word from the Utes, and the Americans from the Spaniards.[3] 101

In the sign language of the plains, the Comanches are known as the Snakes. The term is still in general use by older members of the tribe. The gesture is made by placing the right hand palm downward, with forearm across the front of the body, and moving it to the right with a wiggling motion. There are two known oral traditions purporting to explain the origin of this term. One, as reported by Quanah Parker, the last Comanche war chief to surrender to the Americans, attributes it to a band of Comanches who were migrating across the mountains to the northwest in search of better hunting grounds. After several days' journey a number of the people became dissatisfied, principally because of the colder climate. The leader called a council to calm their fear, but a part of the group could not be persuaded. In a fit of anger the leader compared his followers to a snake backing up in its tracks. From that day the universal sign language for Comanche has been "snake going backwards."[4]

The other version relates that when a wolf howled in front of a band of Comanches traveling south, part of the group considered it a warning to go no farther. They turned back. The rest selected a new leader and continued their southward migration. Afterwards the southern group referred to those who turned back as "Snakes," the term soon being broadened to include all who remained in the northland, Utes and Shoshones alike.[5]

[3] Equivalent spellings, frequently occurring in earlier literature, are *Comants, Camanche, Cammanche,* and *Commanche.* For additional information pertaining to Comanche names, see M. K. Opler, "The Origin of Comanche and Ute," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. XLV (1943), 155–58; James Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," Bureau of American Ethnology (hereafter cited as B. A. E.) *Fourteenth Annual Report,* Part II, 1043; Robert S. Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," in Henry R. Schoolcraft (ed.), *Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States,* II, 126; J. Lee Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Hostile Indians,* 174; F. W. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico,* B. A. E. *Bulletin No. 30* (hereafter cited as Hodge, *Handbook*), Part I, 327, 594.

[4] Dick Banks to Bessie L. Thomas (investigator), March 29, 1938, Indian-Pioneer Papers (MS collection, University of Oklahoma Library), Vol. V, 61–62. Banks lived for a year with Chief Quanah Parker.

[5] R. B. Thomas, "Kiowa-Comanche Experiences," Indian-Pioneer Papers (MS collection, University of Oklahoma Library), Vol. CX, 155.

[P.188]

[54]

A Brief Account of the Manners and Customs of the Camanche Indians

101 The Camanches are a wandering nation of Indians of whom there appears to be but little generally known. They consist of, as near as I could learn, two tribes, that speak the same language, and who, with several other tribes, with whom I did not become acquainted, inhabit the [131] extensive territory stretching from the northern boundary of Texas to the Rocky Mountains, and in the extent of which Nature seems generally to have adapted her supplies to the comparatively few wants of the children of the forest, who exist upon [484] her bounty. Indeed, one would suppose, that a tenth part of the toil they endure, in the long and 131 fatiguing marches they are almost continually making, rationally applied, with the facilities of the country they inhabit, would afford them four times the amount of the good things of this life that they now enjoy; but with such kind of estimates, they seem to have no concern. They are a hardy race, and endure the toil and privations, which their unsettled and wandering life exposes

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

COMANCHE LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION: I*

JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

1. Introduction
2. Comanche history
3. Aspects of Comanche language
3.0. Affinities within Uto-Aztecan
3.1. Consonants
3.2. Vowels
3.3. Prefixation
3.4. Infixation
3.5. Suffixation
3.6. Enclisis
3.7. Paradigm of clitic affixes
3.8. Compounding
3.9. Reduplication
3.10. Stem classes
3.11. Words
3.12. Syntax

* This is the first of three journal articles on Comanche Linguistic Acculturation which was prepared as a single long paper. The data on which this paper is based were collected among the Comanche Indians living in or near Indiahoma, Oklahoma, in the summer of 1940 when the writer was one of a field party of graduate students under the direction of George Herzog, then of the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University. A vocabulary of about 3500 words and phrases was collected, primarily by directly eliciting Comanche equivalents for English terms. James Chebahtah, an experienced Comanche-English interpreter, was the chief informant. Additional materials were supplied by Herman Asenap, Robert Coffee, huuwihtikwa?, an old woman who spoke only Comanche, and in varying amounts by several other informants. Tony Martinez, who was also fluent in Spanish, was an especially valuable linguistic informant. The vocabulary was checked by Herzog and myself for the accuracy of both phonetic transcription and meaning. Material gotten from one person was checked with a different informant.

I am indebted, first of all, to the Social Science Research Council of Columbia University whose financial aid made the trip possible; to George Herzog, now Professor of Anthropology at Indiana University, for his continued interest and many good offices; to my colleagues in the field who are in a very real sense my collaborators; to Professors Joseph H. Greenberg, William Duncan Strong, Julian H. Steward, and Alfred L. Kroeber for their guidance and good counsel; to William Smalley who has generously lent both his time and knowledge of the Comanche language; and finally to my Comanche friends and informants.

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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175 had been procured from the Spanish. Peace-
648 ful trading relations were begun by the
439 Mallet brothers in 1739,[19] and a lively trade in which hides, horses and captives were exchanged for guns, powder, balls, knives, glass beads, mirrors, vermilion, axes, chocolate, and the like, soon sprang up. The Wichita and other Louisiana tribes as well as French traders were active participants in this commerce and contributed agricultural products. It seems probable that the French,
175 in addition to supplying the Comanche with
648 firearms, also incited them to attack the
[721] Spanish. The Comanche had long acted as a buffer between the French from Louisiana to the northeast and the Spanish to the southwest. Indeed, Anza had hoped to establish them as guardians of the northern frontier in the event of French ambitions to southwest expansion.

648 Contacts with the newly founded United States began shortly after the Louisiana
[439] Purchase in 1803. That year James Pursely, the first American to penetrate the new territory, spent a season trading with the Kiowa and Comanche,[20] and the first filibusters and freebooters soon followed.
● 101 Catlin's visit[21] to the Comanche with Colonel Dodge's expedition in 1834 found them at the height of their power—an estimated 30,000 strong and ranging from the Mandan villages in Dakota to the Rio
439 Grande and beyond. The earliest trading-
648 posts were established in 1834 and 1837 after Dodge's expedition had proven the friendly disposition of the Plains tribes. The first treaty between the United States and the Comanche and their allied tribes was negotiated in 1835. In 1846 the United States government agreed to provide for the establishment of trading houses and

[19] A. B. Thomas, The Plains Indians and New Mexico (Glendale, Calif., 1940).

[20] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 171 (Washington, D. C., 1898).

[113] [21] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians, 2 vols., (London, England, 1841).

175 Because of their courage in battle, the Comanches
726 even won, with certain reservations, the grudging respect of the Anglo-American settlers in Texas. After a fight in 1859, Captain E. K. Smith wrote that "the Comanches fought without giving or asking quarter until there was not one left to bend a bow, and would have won the admiration of every brave soldier of the command but for the intrusive reflection that they were the murderers of the wives and children of our frontiersmen, and the most wretched of thieves."[1]

175 The general outlines of Comanche history are well known. Members of the tribe first appeared in the
175 Spanish settlements of northern New Mexico soon
101 after 1700. Prior to that time they seem to have dwelled in the plateau and basin country west of the Rockies in parts of present Colorado, Utah and Wyoming. In those early years they apparently formed a single tribe with the Shoshones.

173 According to a native tradition, all the Shoshones were camped together along a river when the young son of a chief was accidentally killed during a kicking game. The incident stirred up bitter feelings, so that the camp broke into two factions. To avoid open hostilities, one group moved north, the Shoshones proper or Snakes, while the people who remained behind eventually drifted east and became the Comanches.

175 In the seventeenth century, the Comanches in
101 their several bands probably inhabited the parks just back of the Front Range in Colorado and the country as far as the valley of the North Platte. James

James 175
Mooney estimates that in 1690 they numbered no 101
more than 1,600 souls.[2] [161]

To the south resided the Utes, who may be re- [197]
garded as linguistic cousins of the Comanches since
they also spoke the Shoshonean language. The Utes 175
occupied the San Luis Valley in Southern Colorado,
and from this vantage point they maintained close
contact with the Spanish and with the Pueblos and
Navajos in New Mexico. From the Utes, the Co-
manches must have first learned of these peoples,
and from them too, they may have acquired their
first horses.

By 1700 or earlier, the Comanches had begun to
shift their camps southward and eastward. No
doubt, they were drawn by the possibility of obtain-
ing mounts, but at the same time they may have
been starting to feel pressure from stronger tribes to
the north, particularly the Blackfoot and Crow. An
added attraction to the south and east were the
plains teeming with buffalo and antelope.

The first Comanches drifting southward joined Ute 175
parties who were accustomed to trade in the Spanish 648
settlements and the large Indian pueblos of Taos
and Picuris. Thus were the rustics from the northern
wilderness introduced to the material refinements of
more advanced peoples. Surely the whites would 175
have shuddered could they have envisioned the cen- 721
tury and a half of bloody warfare that was to follow 648
upon the Comanche entry into the Southwest.

The first persons against whom the Comanches
displayed their prowess in war were the Apaches
who roamed the hills and plains northeast of Taos.
As early as 1706, a combined Comanche-Ute raiding

the several Comanche bands which resided on the the eastern limits of New Mexico. 175 648 728

Anza was aided in his task by the immense prestige he enjoyed among the Indians. His reputation he owed to the destruction of a large Comanche camp in southeastern Colorado in 1779 and to the slaying at the same time of the prominent war chief Cuerno Verde. Governor Anza, in fact, succeeded in establishing peace with the Comanches by February of 1786 and at the same time in enlisting their aid in the continuing struggle with hostile Apaches in the south.

At the peace gathering were represented the principal bands of the Western Comanches, including the Yamparikas, and Yupes or Jupes, who were probably identical with the group known later as the Kwaharis. Some members of another band, the Kotsotekas, often called Cuchanticas or Cuchanecs, were also present. The Spaniards themselves during the last quarter of the eighteenth century were uncertain as to the divisions within the tribe. For example, the authorities in Texas usually considered the Kotsotekas as Eastern Comanches (*Orientales*) along with the Penatekas or Honey-Eaters (known to the Anglo-Americans later as the Wasp Band). 175 648 728 101 175 101

The Western Comanches, who agreed to terminate hostilities against the Spanish, followed a suggestion of Governor Anza and selected one of their number, Ecueracapa or Leather Jacket, to serve as head chief with authority to speak for the tribe. To increase his stature, the Spaniards bestowed upon Ecueracapa the lofty title of "General of the Comanche Nation." As a further inducement to remain at peace, 175 728 648 [643] [431]

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Document One

TREATY WITH THE EASTERN COMANCHES, October, 1785, from the report of Pedro de Nava Commandant General of the Interior Provinces, Chihuahua, July 23, 1799.

THE COMANCHES are divided in three branches or tribes known by the names Jupe, Yamparicas, and Cuchanec, or Cuchihantica. The first two inhabit the frontier of New Mexico, and the third, that of Texas. At almost the same time, peace was arranged in both Provinces with this numerous and warlike nation; and the terms settled upon in October of 1785 with the eastern tribe were the following:

1st That hostilities should cease on both sides, and that in whatever place Spaniards and Comanches might meet, they should treat each other as brothers and good friends.

2nd That the preceding condition is understood to apply not only to the inhabitants of Texas but to all the vassals of the King.

3rd That they should return our captives which they took for ransom, ceasing to engage in such acts against any nation.

4th That they should not admit into their camps any strangers, unless they suppose them to be traders who provide them with merchandise in exchange for hides.

14: Riggs L-5 (1948) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

000 ALTERNATE PHONEMIC ANALYSES OF COMANCHE

VENDA RIGGS
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

0. Introduction
1. Consonants: Analysis A
2. Consonants: Analysis B
3. Discussion
4. Vowels
5. Stress

128 0. This paper presents two alternate phonemic analyses of the consonants of Comanche, a Uto-Aztecan language.[1] The 128 question involved is whether the sequence h 194 plus consonant should be regarded as a consonant cluster or as a unit phoneme in 128 this language.[2] In section 3 the relative advantages and disadvantages of each solution will be discussed without any attempt to favor either analysis. The writer, however, prefers analysis B.

128 1. Consonants: Analysis A. In this analy- 194 sis the sequence h plus consonant is interpreted as a consonant cluster.

194 1.1. Stops and spirants generally occur in unique allophones, namely voiceless; h is assimilated to preceding vowels and following nasals.

Stops: p, t, c (an affricate, patterning as stop), k^{w}, k, ʔ. Examples: paa *water*, picipə *milk*, taaʔ *son*, peetə *daughter*, caatə *good*, paciʔ *little sister*, k^{w}eeniʔ *pointed hill*,

[101] [115]

[1] The data on which this paper is based was gathered during the 1948 session of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma. Comanche informants were Molly Weryavah, Emily Riddles, and Mrs. Joe Harry. I am indebted to C. F. Voegelin for suggestions in the presentation of the material.

[2] A third possible analysis, that of interpreting preconsonantal h as a voiceless vowel has not been considered due to the fact that Comanche voiceless vowels are contrastive as to quality, while the phoneme h is not. See section 1.1., Spirants.

15: Osborn & Smalley L-5 (1948) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

FORMULAE FOR COMANCHE STEM AND WORD FORMATION

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0. Introduction
1. Affix check list
2. Stem formation
3. Stem classes
4. Word formation

0. In this paper we discuss Comanche stem and word formation. The formulae utilized to represent the observed constructions grew out of an attempt to handle the cross-cleavage between stem classes and word classes. Although not all possible combinations of formational and inflectional elements have been found, this method of statement by formulae can be expanded to include any new combinations recorded.

Stem classes are characterized by their potential distribution with alternants of suffix 311, but are not identifiable by any feature of internal structure. Word classes are characterized by their potential syntactic distribution, and when inflected are identified morphologically by their final suffix (see 4).

1. Affix check list.[2] The following list is representative of the most commonly used

[1] Data for this paper were gathered in the 1948 session of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma. Comanche informants from Walters, Oklahoma, were Molly Weryavah, Helen Seahmer, and Emily Riddles. We are indebted to the staff of the Institute, particularly to Elliott Canonge and John B. McIntosh for technical information on Comanche, and to William L. Wonderly for advice in the presentation of the material.

[2] The phonemes of Comanche are analyzed as follows: p, t, k, k^{w}, ʔ; c; s, š, h; m, n, r; w, y; i, I, e, E; ɨ, I, a, A; u, U, o, O. Large caps represent voiceless vowels; small cap B represents bilabial v. Stress /'/ is written immediately preceding the stressed syllable. Hyphen (-) represents morpho-

17: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

COMANCHE BABY LANGUAGE

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The Comanche language[1] reveals an unusually rich and formalized vocabulary of special baby words which were used in teaching the child to speak. Their use began when the child was old enough to understand, at about one year according to informants, and dropped off as the child matured and learned the normal, adult locutions at the age of 3 to 4. If a child persisted in using these words after the age of 5 or so, it would be laughed at and ridiculed for its babyish ways. Today English holds sway and these baby words no longer function actively, although children in those families or households where there are older persons who speak only Comanche may have some knowledge of them. So of necessity these data were recorded from the lips of adult speakers, most of whom, however, maintain a lively memory of the baby forms.

The following list was checked with eight informants and is probably exhaustive. Where known, the adult form or derivation is given in brackets after the translation of the baby word or words.

ʔáʔh, ʔáx, ʔáʔhA *something nasty or dirty; feces, urine, penis, a smell; warning to get away from something dirty; I have wet, dirtied myself; command for baby to defecate.*

ʔaʔhá·ʔ *no good!* (said to baby).

The next two forms are used in speaking to and by older children. They are derived from the baby words, but with regular verbal suffixes.

ʔáʔhi·kwhA *go off and defecate!*

ʔáʔhI, ʔáʔhinI? *I have dirtied myself.*

ʔanáʼ, ʔanóʼ *it hurts!* (pointing to place); *sore place, cut; command to child to get away from thing or place where it might get hurt.*

[1] The material for this paper was gathered on a field trip sponsored by Columbia University to the Comanche Indians living near Indiahoma, Oklahoma during the summer of 1940.

171 764 dren of the common people are thrust out of sight in the most convenient way ... (Dodge 1882:159).

171 114 764 While oversimplifying, Dodge recognized at least some factors that resulted in preferential burial treatment within a tribe. He unfortunately did not identify differences in customs among tribes. Consequently, he gives only little information -- he does not tell us which tribes sometimes placed the bodies of their dead in ravines.

764 171 According to Dr. O. G. Given, physician to the Kiowa and Comanche Agency, burials were made at easily prepared sites in crevices and in the ground (Yarrow 1881:142). Dr. Fordyce Grinnell of the Wichita Agency gives a more detailed account:

> The body is taken due west of the lodge or village of the bereaved, and usually one of the deep washes or heads of canons in which the Comanche country abounds is selected, and the body thrown in, without special reference to position ... The saddle [from the horse used to carry the body to the grave] is also placed in the grave together with many of the personal valuables of the departed. The body is then covered over with sticks and earth, and sometimes stones are placed over the whole (Yarrow 1881:99).

657 101 The Wichita Agency, located at what is now Anadarko, Oklahoma, had jurisdiction over the Wichita, Waco, Caddo, and affiliated tribes. In 1879 the Comanche Agency was consolidated with the Wichita Agency and many of the Comanches came under its jurisdiction, although a subagency remained at Fort Sill. Thus Dr. Grinnell's observations may be of Comanches rather than Wichitas who, as far as is known, buried their dead in cemeteries (Schmitt 1952).

764 171 101 The Wichita did live in the area, however; possibly as late as 1850 there was a village one or two miles east of the Jared site (Marcy 1853:72), and they were there again for a few months after Fort Sill was founded in 1869. There is a possibility that some tribe other than the Comanche or Wichita was referred to, for in 1837 when the leader of a raiding party of "Wacos, Caddos, and Keechis" was killed during a battle, some of his followers tied a rope to the body, dragged it away, and left it in a ravine (Wilbarger 1935:193). Details of the disposition of the body are not recorded, and we do not know if the body was abandoned, buried, or simply left until it could be retrieved for burial elsewhere after the battle.

114

[p. 323-8]

elsewhere after the battle.

Other tribes were in the area at the time. From the time of Fort Sill's establishment, the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache were all encamped at the fort; the Arapaho and some Cheyenne were nearby and visited the area. In addition, from 1894 to 1913 a number of Apaches were kept at the post as prisoners of war. They were settled in scattered villages on the post until their release; several of these villages were located near The Jared site. It is unlikely that the Jared site is an Apache burial, however, since burials of the Apaches who died at Fort Sill were made in cemeteries rather than in isolated places and the locations of these cemeteries are known. It is also unlikely that the burial is Kiowa-Apache for although Opler and Bittle state that rocky crevices were preferred burial sites they also point out that burials were not placed in situations where they would be subject to exposure by erosion (Opler and Bittle 1961:384).

In an anthropological survey of the Comanches (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:150) there is further substantiation of ravine burials: again they are simple graves in the head of a canyon, crevice, or deep wash and contain "... articles of immediate personal usage belonging to the deceased ..." (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:152).

In the Southern Plains only the Cheyenne vie for comparison with the Comanche as regards the custom of ravine or crevice burials: bodies of some of their dead were placed "... in caves or crevices in the rocks ..." (Grinnell 1962:163). Llewellyn and Hoebel likewise record crevice burials for the Cheyenne (1941:213).

Several Kiowas and Comanches were asked about burials like the Jared site; there was total agreement among all that the Kiowa would not place a body in a ravine or crevice but would bury only in an open area. Both the Kiowas and the Comanches were aware of Comanche burials similar to the Jared site. Dodge, then, apparently was describing a practice with very limited distribution; only the Comanche and Cheyenne are known to have made ravine burials.

Dating: Since the artifacts from the Jared site have not been satisfactorily dated, I will comment on the history of the area, pointing to factors that may more narrowly delimit the date of interment.

The Comanches had long been in frequent contact with American, French, and Mexican traders, explorers, and military expeditions be-

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NQ6 Comanche NQ6
Wind River NQ19
Ute NT19

PREFACE.

From the beginning it had been intended to include those Shoshonean tribes who had been more or less affected by the culture of the Plains in the present survey of the military societies of that area. Accordingly, I devoted a portion of the summer of 1912 to seeking relevant data from the Comanche, Southern Ute, and Wind River Shoshone. The Comanche were visited in the vicinity of Lawton, Oklahoma; the Southern Ute at Navaho Springs and Ignacio, Colorado; the Shoshone at Wind River, Wyoming. In 1914, a brief visit was paid to the Ute of Whiterocks, Uintah Reservation, Utah.

While the information is meager for all of the tribes concerned, I feel reasonably sure that this is largely due to the relative simplicity of Shoshonean culture and that the essential features of the Ute and Wind River dances are correctly represented. I am much less confident as regards the Comanche, who proved poor, and in part very unwilling, informants.

For the pictures of the Bear dance, as well as for innumerable courtesies during my brief stay at Navaho Springs, I feel under deep obligations to Mr. and Mrs. Charles D. Wagner.

March, 1915.

[p. 805]

[p. 806 is blank]

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

COMANCHE DANCES

The dances of the Comanche seem to have been, at least to some extent, associated with their bands. These were purely local divisions that had nothing to do with the regulation of marriage. Of the fairly large number listed by Mr. Mooney,[1] my informants recollected only the following four bands:—

Yápaire'ka, Yampa-eaters, north of the other Comanche;

Kwā'are, Antelopes, in part of Oklahoma and Colorado, and the panhandle section of Texas;

Nókōni, or Nóyeka, Travelers, in the mountainous regions of Oklahoma;

Pē'nate'ka, Honey, or Wasp-eaters, living toward the Rio Grande.

Of these bands, the Yápaire'ka is correlated with the Crow dance (tōwi nō'ō'kà); the Kwā'are, with the Colt (tírewō'ku-nō'ō'ka) and the Horse dance; the Nókōni and the Pénate'ka, with the swift-fox (wō'tsi[2] nō'ka) dance. The Buffalo dance (ā'anō'kā'r) was the common property of all the bands, but each band performed it by itself.

The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull, and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:—

> "The Comanche have five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the dances prior to getting up a war-party." In another place he writes: "The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift Fox,—all war-dances,—and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack; Turkey-Dance, imitating motions of turkeys. The Deer-Dance might be called the juggler's-dance, as the dancers pretend to swallow red beans and then draw them out through the breast."[3]

On the whole, I certainly received the impression that dances were, at least preferentially, associated with definite bands. One informant, however, denied any such correlation. According to him, the Comanche, in war times, were organised in different companies, which he compared with subdivisions of a regiment of soldiers. He enumerated the Crow, Fox, Drum, Big Horse, and Little Horse companies. If nothing unusual happened, a man would remain true to the division he had first chosen, but there was no special bond of friendship between members of the same company.

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[1] *Handbook of North American Indians*, article "Comanche."

[2] Another informant said this was a swift bird.

[3] Clark, 355, 141.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

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THE COMANCHES ON THE WHITE MAN'S ROAD*

ERNEST WALLACE

The Comanches constituted one of the major tribes of the southern Great Plains. They came down from the north shortly after 1700 and within a quarter of a century had established themselves as lords over a vast area extending from the Arkansas River on the north to the Hill Country around San Antonio on the south, and from the Cross Timbers or approximately along the line of the ninety-eighth meridian on the east to the Pecos River and the mountains above its headwaters on the west. For a century and a half these spartans of the prairies successfully repelled all efforts of both red men and white men to encroach on their hunting grounds, while at the same time they pillaged Mexican communities far south of the Rio Grande and made the frontier settlements of the Anglo-Americans unsafe.

Comanche culture was of the typical plains Indian character. The Comanches were nomadic hunters, warriors, and raiders. They had no agriculture (in historic time, at least);

*Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, The Comanches (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1952) is a study of the old way of life of the Comanches. Acculturation and twentieth century development are topics outside the scope of that study. Surrounded after their capitulation by whites who regarded their own civilization inferior to none, the Comanches, for lack of any alternative, reluctantly proceeded to accept in part the civilization of their conqueror or, as the Comanches say, "The White Man's Road." This article, taking up where the book leaves them, attempts to trace briefly the historical development of the Comanches after they were compelled to accept life on the reservation. In addition to the cited source material, this article is supported by field work of the author among the Comanches in the summer of 1945.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

DAVID G. BURNET'S LETTERS DESCRIBING THE COMANCHE INDIANS WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY ERNEST WALLACE

When the United States purchased Louisiana Territory from France in 1803, she acquired within its upper and western limits several powerful Indian tribes of whom the Anglo-Americans had very little or no knowledge. The Comanche was one of these tribes. They had abandoned the upper Missouri-Yellowstone region during the Eighteenth Century for the southern high plains adjacent to the northern settlements of New Spain. The vast domain lying between the Arkansas River and the South Texas Hill Country and between the Cross Timbers on the east and the Pecos River and the mountain ranges of eastern New Mexico and Colorado on the west the Comanche regarded as *Comancheria*, and for more than a century few there were, either red men or white, who intruded against their will.

Convinced of the superiority of their own way of life, the Comanche resolutely refused to compromise with white civilization until they had been defeated and confined to a reservation. No real mutual trust and friendship ever existed between them and any of their white neighbors. Seldom did a white visitor remain within a Comanche village longer than necessary, and it was most unusual for a Comanche to visit a white settlement except to war and plunder. Consequently, reliable accounts of early Comanche society are rare and meager.

One of the earliest and best descriptions of Comanche society by an Anglo-American observer appeared during 1824 in *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette* in serial form under the heading "Indians of Texas." The article is a series of five letters published in six installments. The first four letters, according to the introductory statement, constitute

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche 06
Texas

a thorough education and then obtained for him a job as a clerk in a New York counting house when he was seventeen. When the firm failed shortly afterwards, David G. Burnet joined the South American revolutionist, Miranda, who was recruiting at the time in New York. While on his way to Venezuela in 1806, he was commissioned first lieutenant in the Miranda forces.[2]

When the Miranda forces met defeat on the Venezuela coast, Burnet returned to New York but in 1808 went again to Venezuela upon receiving news that the revolution had broken out anew. Miranda, however, assured him that the movement was premature and persuaded him to return to the United States.

In 1813 Burnet moved from New York to Cincinnati, where he studied and practiced law until 1817 before going, on account of his health, to the warmer climate of Natchitoches, Louisiana, to enter a mercantile business engaged in trade with the Indians. Here fate a second time intervened to veto a business career for which he had neither interest nor tact anyway. He was seriously threatened with "pulmonary consumption" in the fall of 1817 and, acting upon the advice of his physician, went west into the open country in the region of the headwaters of the Colorado River where, he reported, "During the years 1818-19 I spent a considerable time with, or in the vicinity of the Comanches of Texas."[3] For more than a year he lived as the Indians did, eating only buffalo and other wild meats, sleeping in the open, and roaming the prairies. He reached west Texas so weak that it was difficult for him to mount his horse unaided; he succeeded in regaining his health beyond his utmost expectations.

While at Nacogdoches in the summer of 1818, Burnet began writing his account of the Indians of Texas for Colonel Jamison. Apparently he had not anticipated this request

2. A. M. Hobby, "Life of David G. Burnet," in Texas Almanac (Galveston), 1872, p. 168.
3. David G. Burnet, August 20, 1847, in Henry R. Schoolcraft (ed.), Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States (Philadelphia, 1853), I, p. 229; Texas Almanac, 1857, pp. 122-3.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

they would be in no wise dangerous. But how inadequate is an infant, dispersed, and unorganized settlement, to repel the sudden incursions of an enemy who move with unequalled celerity, and almost inscrutable caution: who traverse the pathless wilderness by day, and pounce on their devoted victims in the unguarded hour of midnight. The national faith and friendships of savages are proverbially treacherous, and are always subordinate to their own weak conceptions of interest, or the more imperative suggestions of fear. The hope of spoil for the most part constitutes their *prium mobile* to hostilities: but they are sometimes capable of adventuring the hazards of battle for the single purpose of revenging real or imaginary injuries.

The Comanchees or I-etans as they are sometimes called, are one among a very few of the primitive nations of Spanish America, who have preserved their pristine independence. To what cause this singularity is attributable, it is difficult to determine. Their oral history is extremely limited and imperfect, and they appear to retain no recollections of a period when their political condition was materially different from what it now is. Of their origin they know nothing. A regular tradition or national legend, seems never to have entered into the policy of these erratic sons of the forest. Careless of the future, they are indifferent to the benefits that accrue from the recollections of the past. The revolving day imbodies all their concerns. Their songs, which are few and of little variation, however ancient they may be, are rather didactic than historical, and are calculated to fire the warriors zeal, or to give solemnity to funeral lamentations. It is however, presumable, that their wandering mode of life and the remoteness and seclusion of the country through which they have ranged time immemorial, have mainly contributed to perpetuate both the identity and the independence of a tribe, whose numbers and capacities for war, are far inferior to others of their proscribed race, that have become almost or quite extinct, by the deleterious spread of a corrupt and unsocial civilization.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

(Ca. 1818)

By comparison with the several minor hordes that are located in the province of Texas, the Comanchees are certainly a very considerable nation. But much is abstracted from their political importance, by their habitual indolence, and their utter unfitness for any thing like serious and protracted warfare. I speak relatively, and under the presumption that they are to be seriously and perseveringly opposed. Without, however, making any moral abatements, they will fall considerably short of the opinion that has obtained in your quarter, as to their actual strength. The idea has been frequently propagated that they can furnish from 12 to 20,000 warriors, and those too of no ordinary prowess.

I do not conceive it necessary to inculcate exaggerated notions of their aggregate strength, or individual bravery, in order to make out their pretensions to the notice of at least the territorial government of Arkansas. Estimate them as they really are, and they may be found sufficiently formidable to excite alarm in a feeble and unprotected frontier; and no portion of our country has partaken less of the parental kindness of the federal administration, than that which is most immediately exposed to their depredations. The following will be found as correct a statement of their numbers and general character as a close observation during a residence among them for several months, has enabled me to obtain.

The tribe known among us by the term Comanchees, is divided into three great parties, each of which is distinguished by a separate appellation, to wit:

Comanchees, Yamparacks, and Tenaways.*

The Comanchees, the lower or most southern party, range through a section of country that is watered by the Colorado or Red river of Texas, embracing in their circuits both sides of the river, from its headwaters to the confluence

*There were at this time at least half a dozen Comanche divisions. It is well to remember that Burnet had direct acquaintance with relatively few Comanches and his means of learning about the others was limited.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

(ca. 1818)

of the St. Saba, which empties into the Colorado about 60 miles north of St. Antonio. Their migrations are bounded on the west by the mountains, which are generally barren and destitute of game, and on the east by the river Brazos. It is this band principally, that is engaged in the predatory warfare upon the inhabitants of Texas, which they have prosecuted with great assiduity for several years past and which they have continued, with short intervals of peace, from time "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Their incursions have not been confined to the province of Texas, which the miserable attempt at revolution in 1812 has effectually, drained of its once immense herds of mules and horses, but they extend their depredations to the several contiguous provinces beyond the Rio Grande. This party can probably bring into the field about 1500 warriors; but to parade this number, I doubt whether they would not be obliged to put in requisition the virgin bows of unfledged boyhood. The largest party they have been known to muster for a campaign, was estimated by eye-witnesses at 12 or 1500 men; and those who are apprised of the imposing spectacle exhibited by a Comanchee parade, will not suspect a *coup d'oeil* estimate, of extenuation. It was known that many of their kindred band, the Yamparacks, were associated with them, and contributed to eke out the formidable array.

I will resume my remarks as opportunity may offer.

B*****.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 15, 1824]

Letter II

The next party in geographical order is the Yamparacks. These occupy the head waters of the Colorado, occasionally extending their migrations to the tributary streams of the Rio del Norte. They frequently intermingle with, and are found among the Comanchees and are, in no respect dissimilar to them, in manners, customs or appearance, but are virtually the same people, speak the same language, and are characterized by the same peculiarities. There is one

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

exception, however, to the general resemblance.—The Yamparacks are more honest and punctilious in their dealings, and much less addicted to thievery. This may be accounted for, by the fewness of their opportunities of trade; the commercial intercourse between the Indians and whites, has invariably had a demoralizing influence on the untutored Savages.

The Yamparacks can probably furnish from 7 to 800 warriors. These frequently unite with the Comanchees, and participate largely in their depredations on the provincial Spaniards.

Of the Tenaways my information is less minute and authentic, they being seldom visited in their distinct villages by Americans. But they sometimes descend by families, or small parties, to the Comanchee range, to solicit the charity of their brethren who are more contiguous to our settlements, and are constantly supplied with a profusion of such articles as their fancies or necessities require, and who are extremely liberal to their less favored and often destitute kindred. From the representations of the Comanchees and some of their own chiefs, I conclude their numerical strength does not vary much from that of the Yamparacks. This would place the entire aggregate force of the three tribes at about 3000 warriors, which I presume is a probable computation.

The Tenaways range through a mountainous district that separates the waters of the Rio del Norte, from the rivers of Texas, and they sometimes extend their perambulations to the head waters of the Red River of Natchitoches. They carry on a small traffic with the Spaniards of Santa Fee, from whom they receive blankets, knives and tobacco, in exchange for the mules and horses which they capture from the Spaniards of the adjacent Provinces. They often mingle with the Yamparacks when traversing the southern extreme of their range. The utmost harmony subsists between these several bands. They have no distinct limits assigned them, neither does one party claim, in relation to another, any exclusive sovereignty over the particular sec-

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

By J. A. Dacus

Popular author and member of the staff of the St. Louis Republican, *1871-80. Condensed from an article in* Ware's Valley Monthly, *Volume I, Number 1, St. Louis, May, 1875.*

The Comanches: An Ethnological Sketch
(ca 1870)

The Comanches number about fifteen thousand souls. Their former 161
range extended from the sources of the Rio Brazos and Rio Colorado, 101
of Texas, northward to the Canadian, and westward to the mountains of 131
Colorado and New Mexico, and thence southward to the Rio Grande and
the Mexican settlements of Nueva Leon and Coahuila. They are generally 101
classed with the great nomadic Apache family. But the points of resemblance, I believe, are not sufficiently distinct to justify the classification.
In form, feature, and language they have little likeness or affinity to the 101
Apaches. Their traditions and symbolism and language, all point to a 197
relationship with the Shoshones. The difference in the language spoken by
these tribes is only dialectal. The separation must have taken place in the
remote past. The cause which led to that separation, it is probable, will
never be ascertained.

The name, Comanche, by which the people under consideration are dis- 101
tinguished, is not of their own bestowal. They call themselves *Neum*, which signifies men—the first, or original men. It is probable that their present name is a corruption of the Spanish word comenzar (pronounced comanthar), which signifies "to begin." The Comanches assert that they are THE *men*—the beginning men—or first men. In the effort to impart their distinctive claim, to strangers, they no doubt made use of signs signifying a commencement or beginning, and hence received from the early Spanish adventurers the title, *Los Pueblos Comenzar*: "The people to begin," or the beginning people. It was afterward corrupted to Comanche, instead of Comenzar.

The Comanches are nomads, but not pastoral. They have horses, but 233
keep no cattle, or sheep. They not do cultivate the soil, and confess them- 241
selves ignorant of the simplest arts of agriculture. Their food is procured 224
by the chase. The women sometimes collect a few roots and plants, and
some of the indigenous fruits of the plains, such as plums, certain kinds 222
of berries, and the fig-like fruits of a species of cactus found on the Wichita 462

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

States Government failed to take into consideration many difficulties peculiar to the Texas Indian situation as well as the inherent characteristics of the plains tribes not found in the Indians of other regions.

Establishing the Reservation

The question of a permanent home for the Indians of Texas was often raised during the decade following annexation; but the problem was difficult to solve, especially since the state maintained that neither the Indians nor the United States had any property rights in the Texas public domain. Under the terms of annexation the state had shifted to the Federal Government the responsibility of managing the Indians but had retained her public lands. Thus, the savages were regarded as tenants at will and in its effort to keep them pacified the United States Indian service had to contend with the steady encroachment of the settlers.

Naturally the misery and poverty of the savages increased from year to year and the problem of restraining them grew proportionately greater. The following words are given as those of Ka-tem-e-see, a Southern Comanche chief:

> Over this vast country, where for centuries our ancesters roamed in undisputed possession, free and happy, what have we left? The game, our main dependence, is killed and driven off, and we are forced into the most sterile and barren portions of it to starve. We see nothing but extermination left us, and we await the result with stolid indifference. Give us a country we can call our own, where we may bury our people in quiet.[2]

East of the Comanches, along the valleys of the upper Brazos and Trinity rivers, were Caddo, Anadarko, Kichai, Haini, Tawakoni and other Indians whose condition was quite as desperate as that of the Comanches. Finally after one or more "location" bills had failed, the Legislature of Texas by an act of February 6, 1854, authorized the Federal Government to select not more than twelve leagues of land to be used for Indian reservations.[3] Captain Ran-

2. Horace Capron, United States Indian Agent in Texas, to Howard, September 30, 1858. Ms., in the University of Texas Library, photostat copies of papers in the United States Indian Office.

3. H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, III, 1488-1496.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

657 in his old savage way. Then, when his blankets were worn out
648 and game became scarce and stealing unprofitable he would return to repeat the process.[10] On one occasion this chief almost
648 started a war between the Comanches and the Indians on the Brazos reservation. With Ka-tem-e-see and about seventy-five warriors he went to that reservation and approached the Anadarko village in a threatening manner. The women and children of this and neighboring villages fled and panic seized the entire Indian community. Fortunately the veteran Anadarko chief, Jose Maria, was looking for trouble, had his men armed and prepared for action and informed the intruders that he was ready either for "fight" or "talk." The Comanches chose to talk and through the efforts of the Brazos agent, S. P. Ross, and his interpreter, Jim Shaw, violence was avoided. When called upon to explain their extraordinary conduct, the Comanches, evidently much embarrassed at the turn the affair had taken, said that all was well, they were satisfied, but they wished to ask just one question: "Were the Caddoes going to continue to act as guides for the troops?"

This question explains the whole affair. No doubt Buffalo Hump, using the milder Ka-tem-e-see as a tool, had hoped to frighten the smaller bands into discontinuing the valuable aid they had been rendering the troops as scouts and guides. It may be that Buffalo Hump himself had suffered because of the skill and faithfulness of these scouts. It is certain that in the years that followed the wiley old renegade was much annoyed by these scouts for as a leader of the wild Comanche bands he was often
657 trailed and surprised by these very Indians. Although these Co-
648 manches were wards of the Government and living off of its bounty
186 their sympathy for their wild marauding kinsmen was stronger than that for any agent or soldier and they resented the fact that these more civilized Indians were taking such an active part in the interest of law and order.

657 In addition to these run-away Southern Comanches other
648 wild Indians made the work of the agents difficult and caused the
628 life of the reservation Indians to be haunted by many fears. The-
101 were several distinct Comanche bands that had never had any inti-

[113]

10. See Anna Heloise Abel, The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist, page 315, for a letter from M. Leeper, once Comanche agent in Texas, to Elias Rector, December 12, 1861. In this letter Leeper gives a short biography of Buffalo Hump and pronounces an anathema to his memory.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

mate relations with the Penatekas or Southern bands. Along Red River and the Canadian were the Tanimas, Nokonies and Kotsotekas, to the north were the Yamarikas and in the plains region were the fierce Kwaharies. Associated with these northern bands were the Kiowas, fierce and powerful. Parties from these different bands frequently visited the reservation, coming as friends or lurking near as enemies as best suited their purposes. Naturally the going and coming of these wild kinsmen and their occasional presence at or near the reservation made it very difficult for the agents to control their wards. Furthermore, in their raids against the Texas settlements and the North Mexican states these parties often passed near the reservation. This, according to Agent Leeper, was done both to steal additional horses from the reserve Indians and to direct the attention of the pursuers to those Indians in order that they might be charged to the innocent while the guilty made their escape. Indeed the Indians of the reservation frquently suffered severe losses of horses at the hands of these marauders.[11] During the last years of the reservation there developed an estrangement between its inhabitants and their wild kinsmen and at times the wards felt that their lives were insecure, although the agency was near by and the military post but two miles away. In May, 1858, Ka-tem-e-see took his boys out of school in order to keep them near him and better protect them from the wrath of the marauders of the north. By this time the chief had lost his enthusiasm for the wild Indians and on one occasion said that he did not care if the troops killed them all.[12]

On at least one occasion a lawless visitor came near causing a general revolt. One Santa Anna, a notoriously bad Indian, came and put up in Ka-tem-e-see's cabin. Since this was the only cabin on the reservation perhaps the insolent fellow felt that lodging accommodations were poor enough and he proposed to take the best. It was even rumored that he planned to supersede Ka-tem-e-see and make himself chief of the reservation. The chief ordered this Indian and his companion, a Nokoni Comanche, to leave; but they informed him that they were resting from their arduous journey and did not propose to leave until it suited their conven-

11. Leeper's Report, December 31, 1857. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

12. J. Shirley, employee at Barnard's trading house at the reservation, to C. E. Barnard, May 6, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Leeper to Neighbors, February 5, 1858, Ibid.

27: St. Clair & Lowie U,E-4,5 (no date) 1909
NO6 Comanche NO6
Wind River NQ19

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SHOSHONE AND COMANCHE TALES

COLLECTED BY H. H. ST. CLAIR, 2D; EDITED BY R. H. LOWIE

C W 128 124 101

THE following tales were recorded by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, among the Wind River Shoshone of Wyoming and the Comanche, and are edited on the basis of his interlinear renderings. As a collection of Shoshone myths from Lemhi, Idaho, has been published recently,[1] Wind River duplicates are given only in abstracts referring to points of difference.

W 539 171

The most noteworthy feature of the new Shoshone myths is the occurrence of certain widespread motives not obtained from the Lemhi Indians. Foremost among these is the marriage of two girls to stars. Very significant details connect the Wind River version with that of the Blackfoot. In both cases, the girls, after having wished for star-husbands, are delayed by the loss of their baggage; in both the star-child disappears on the infraction of a taboo, and becomes a star. The eye-juggler motive is naturally joined to a story, shared by the Lemhi and Comanche, of blind Coyote's adventures; a similar sequel occurs in the Blackfoot variant. The magic flight turns up in an ogre tale not related to the published Dzŏ'avits myths, which has also absorbed the crane-leg bridge motive of the Lemhi Bear and Deer story. Unfortunately, the cosmogonic fragments do not elucidate the relation of Ā'pō ("Our Father") to Wolf and Coyote, with whom the Lemhi occasionally identify him, while at other times he appears as a distinct character. In the colorless account of the Deluge, birds are sent out for land, but the diving for earth is not explicitly mentioned. The belief that the crow turned black in consequence of having devoured the drowned Indians is common to the Wind River and Lemhi people, though among the latter it was voiced only in conversation with the writer, and not in connection with the tale.

C W 539 171 113

The Comanche myths are far too few in number to permit a thorough-going comparison with Shoshone folk-lore. The eye-juggler motive

[1] Lowie, "The Northern Shoshone" (*Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. ii, part ii, pp. 236–302).

[p. 265]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

175 sant war was to be made on the Apache.[3] The Comanche conducted
648 their campaign between May 13 and July 5, possibly the first under
721 the above treaty. The scene of the engagement appears from various details to have been in the Sandia Mountain region south of Santa Fé. The name of the Apache band attacked is unknown.

175 In the *Noticia*, translated below, are found the names of most
•101 of the Comanche chiefs who took part in the peace celebration and in the campaign, the meanings of each of their names in Spanish, a statement of the number of tents under the command of each and of the then three divisions of the Comanche about New Mexico, namely, Yupe, Yamparica, and Cuchanec, or Cuchantica.[4] Elsewhere in his reports[5] Governor Anza indicates that the Yupe occupied the region north of the Rio Napestle (the Arkansas river) as far as the southern part of present Wyoming; that the Yamparica extended across the northern part of Colorado[6] of today, and southward among the Yupe to the Rio Napestle; and that between the Napestle and the present Red river ranged the Cuchanec, whom Anza briefly described from information just furnished him by Francisco Xavier Ortiz, an emissary to these

175 Comanche. Between the Pecos and the Red rivers, Ortiz found
[361 eight Cuchanec rancherias located in a quadrangle roughly
101 forty leagues square, that is, about one hundred miles square.
162 Therein he estimated that the smallest rancheria had thirty tents,

621
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[3] Relacion de los Sucesos ocurridos en la Provincia del Nuevo-Mexico con motivo de la Paz concedida a la Nacion Comanche y su reconciliacion de la Yuta, desde 17 de Noviembre de 1785" hasta 15" de Julio de 86" (Provincias Internas, Tomo 65, Archivo General y Publico, Mexico City). This Relacion, divided into fifty numbered paragraphs, is a summary of the reports of Governor Anza of New Mexico over the above months. Hereafter citation will be simply Relacion with paragraph number.

122 The writer is indebted to the American Council of Learned Societies for assistance in securing copies of this Relacion and related material in the archives of Mexico City.

113 [4] This Noticia is an enclosure accompanying the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. With this Noticia there is also another copy of the Tally Sheet reproduced here. (See footnote 1.).

[5] Relacion, paragraphs 2 and 3.

[6] The Yamparica were also noted in this area eight years previously by Dominguez and Escalante, two padres who made an expedition in 1779 northwest of New Mexico

113 (Diario y derrotero de los RR PP Fr. Francisco Atanasio Dominguez y F. Silvestre Velez de Escalante in Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, segunda serie, tomo I, 392–420).

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

all eight about seven hundred, and that there were three to four warriors in each tent, i.e., between six and seven thousand souls. He noted, too, that these Comanche owned about nine hundred beasts of burden, including five herds of mares. More specifically he mentioned that Chief Canaquaipe ruled over one hundred and fifty-five tents, and Chief Malla (Equeracapa), one hundred and fifty-seven. Eastward beyond these Cuchanec Ortiz reported others who ranged as far as the Jumano and Taguayace,[7] then settled on lands in southern present Oklahoma and northern Texas, near the town of Ringgold, Texas, of today.[8] The accuracy of this information was shortly established by Spanish explorers who between 1787–1789 visited the Taguayace and Comanche along the Red river in that area.[9]

From an anthropological point of view, the photostatic record of the Comanche report adds further interesting details to the small fund of Comanche information.[10] It will be noted that this Tally Sheet reveals the Comanche organized into five groups with the leaders of each, accompanied by a lance, standing in a very definite position with regard to each group. The *Noticia* also has the Comanche chiefs' names arranged in five groups. Possibly this organization is characteristic of the later eighteenth century Comanche arrangement in a war party. Lowie refers to a similar organization of Comanche bands.

[7] Ynforme de Franco Xavier Ortiz. This Informe also accompanies the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. Ortiz was among the Comanche from April to May, 1786, to see how they were observing the peace treaty of the past February. Ortiz was accompanied by Josef Manuel Roxo who claimed and was supported by testimonials from twenty-one prominent citizens of New Mexico, that he had voluntarily made a journey east of Pecos in the preceding January (1786) and had persuaded some Comanche to visit Anza for the purpose of making the peace finally entered into. See these testimonials in El Consejo al Comandante Interino de provincias Internas, Madrid, abril 8 de 1787 (104–6–23 Archivo General de Indias, Seville).

[8] For an account of the Comanche and Taovaya in this area between 1759 and 1789 see H. E. Bolton, Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768–1780, 1: 79–122; Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 89–90, 121–133; The Jumano Indians in Texas 1650–1771 (Quarterly of the Texas State Hist. Assoc., vol. 15, No. 1).

[9] H. E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 129–133. The present writer is preparing the diaries of these expeditions for publication.

[10] The writer is indebted to Dr. Leslie Spier for the information and suggestions concerning the anthropological aspects of this document.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

ing domains at the expense of some of their neighbors. The British companies encouraged their tribes to drive off the French-allied tribes, and they gave them guns wherewith to do it. The French responded in kind, and the tribes of either party used their new weapons to drive the unarmed tribes on the western frontier before them. Thus with pressure behind them and an attractive lure before them, a number of the tribes of the Mississippi Valley sought sanctuary and prosperity in the relatively unpopulated lands of the West. The Comanches were among them.

. . .

The Comanches . . . appear in the sixteenth century to have occupied the country that lay around the headwaters of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers. They were an eastern branch of the far-flung Shoshonean group of tribes and at that time it is unlikely that they would have been distinguishable from other eastern Shoshoneans. But in the eighteenth century the Comanches moved down into the southern Plains, while the Shoshones were driven back over the Rocky Mountains by invaders from the east. The Comanches became a discrete entity and one of the first, if not the first, of the Plains tribes to acquire horses.[1]

. . .

The Comanche cultural background was that of the so-called "Digger Indians" of the Great Basin. In the tradition of these tribes there was no great social organization. People moved and lived in small isolated family bands. Each was autonomous and economically self-sufficient on a low subsistence level. Religion was vaguely defined and almost wholly devoid of ceremonial structure. Arts were thin, and life offered little of richer satisfactions. War was a thing to be avoided, for the Basin Shoshoneans had no military organization and were wholly lacking in fighting prowess.[2]

In the Plains the Comanches never wholly shed this heritage, but in the new setting they wrought some mighty changes in their way of life. With adequate food resources and the horse they were able to prosper in numbers and so to enlarge the size of their bands. Yet they never forsook band autonomy for tribal government. Religion remained to the very end almost wholly an individual enterprise with few group rituals and no tribal ceremonials.

It was in warring and raiding that the great transformation took place.

[1] Ernest Wallace and E. A. Hoebel, *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains* (Norman, 1952) pp. 3–16.

[2] J. H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Socio-political Groups* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938).

/page 36 continued/

C K 665 If the present factions are not determined by the acculturationist vs. traditionalist split, the split still exists in the realm of value judgement. Exactly what role it does play must be examined still further. The differences between the Kiowas and Comanches seem to be continuances of earlier pre-contact differences. But to pursue this is to get onto very precarious ground.

C K 665 829 Conversations on the subject of the factioning with informants both Peyotist and Christian yield two conflicting views. One is that there has always been factionalism and that the tribes will never learn to cooperate unless things unforseen come to pass. The other is that the older generation, now inactive, was not plagued by the dissension which exists among the leaders today. Arguments may be advanced to support both theories.

C K 648 179 101 K 648 179 101 C K 665 621 C K 648 665 621 As far back as the history of the tribes can be traced there are stories of splits and dissensions. The Comanches recall that they were once Shoshones. The stories of the split vary but generally it is believed that there was some disagreement. The Kiowas also have a tradition of a northern origin and a split although it is more difficult to reconcile with what the books say. According to the older Kiowas, the Crows and Kiowas were once the same people. They maintain that they can understand the Crow language fairly well and there is considerable visiting between the two groups today. In pre-reservation days dissensions and splits did not paralyze the activities of the tribe. People could split off from one band and join another. The success of tribal life did not depend upon cohesion and cooperation. But with the advent of the reservation and settlement in one place with sustained relations with the United States government this tendency to split became more and more painful. One could not move for one thing. And the dealings with the outside world demanded a concerted effort on the part of the tribes to achieve success.

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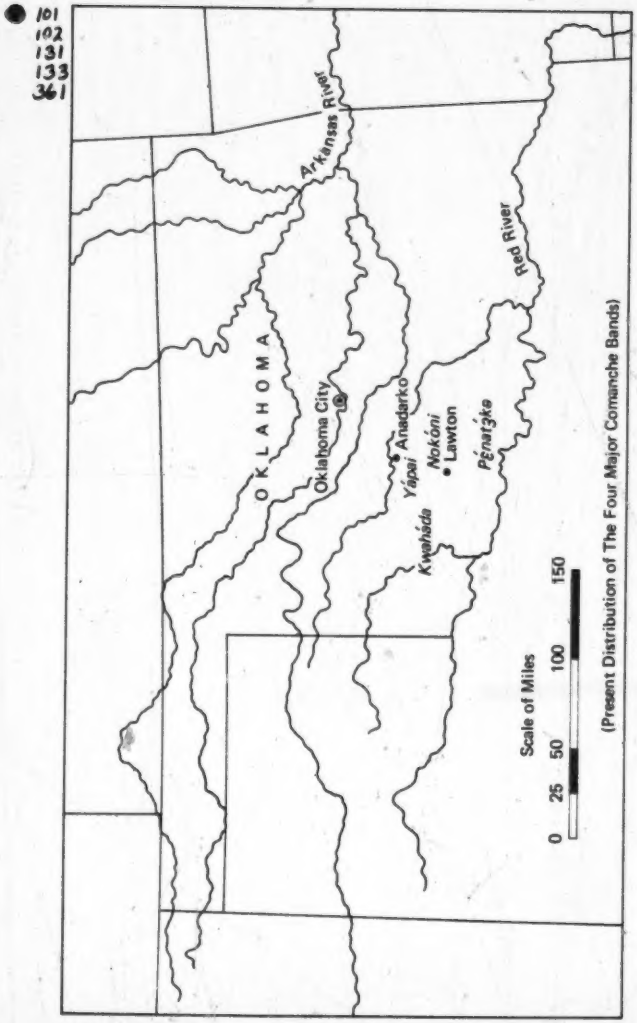

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Foreword

About the Series

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These case studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students in the social sciences insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about, and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of a way of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful.

About the Author

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David E. Jones received his B.A. in anthropology from the University of North Carolina in 1966, and his M.A. from the University of Oklahoma in 1968. At present he is completing his doctoral dissertation for the University of Oklahoma under a Woodrow Wilson Dissertation Fellowship.

The field research upon which this book is based was accomplished over [101] a three-year period beginning in 1967. During the first year of fieldwork, the author was employed by the Doris Duke Indian Oral History Project, American Indian Institute, University of Oklahoma. Much of the taped and transcribed [126] interview material utilized in the compilation of this book is at present in the files of the Oral History Project at the University of Oklahoma.

Mr. Jones has published several articles on the ethnopharmacopeia of the Comanche Indians.

About the Book

As the author writes, this case study is an ethnographic portrait of Sanapia, 121 Comanche medicine woman. With an abundance of firsthand accounts and on the scene observations, the author assists the reader in understanding the complex role of a Comanche Eagle doctor. Jones attempts to describe every aspect of Sanapia's role, including detailed accounts of her ritual behavior, her attitude toward her profession, the paraphernalia she employs, and her function in Comanche society.

The study is special in that Sanapia is the last surviving Comanche Eagle

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The Comanches

Historical Background

THE WORD "COMANCHE" first appeared shortly after 1700 in the records of the colonial administration of the Spanish settlements in the vicinity of Santa Fe, New Mexico. For a long while the etymology of the word was not fully understood since no similar root appeared in the Spanish language. In 1943 some light was thrown on this problem by Marvin K. Opler, in his article "The Origin of Comanche and Ute," who reported that *komanticia* was a Ute word for "enemy." It was applied by the Utes to the Comanche, Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Kiowa before 1726. After this period the Comanches became the major enemies of the Utes, and the word became specifically applied to them. The Comanches were first introduced to the Spanish in New Mexico by the Utes, and thus the word entered the Spanish language from which it was later borrowed into English as "Comanche."

The Comanches are speakers of the Uto-Aztecan language family in much the same sense as the English-speaking peoples are members of the Indo-European language family. The Uto-Aztecan group is divided into three major branches—Shoshonean, Sonoran, and Nahuatlan. The Shoshonean speakers are centered in the Great Basin regions of western North America. The Shoshonean branch can be further divided into Ute-Chemehuevi, Mano-Bannock, and Shoshone-Comanche. The northern Shoshone and Comanche languages are mutually intelligible, and the differences that exist rest on slight phonetic shifts, not in grammatical structure or form. My Comanche informants noted that the Shoshone Indians speak "Comanche"; however, they speak it rapidly and cut vocalization of their words short. It is from the great similarity in the Comanche and Shoshone languages that the derivation of the Comanche from a Shoshonean parent stock is posited by most authors.

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another bunch went back into Texas somewhere and they all went separate there. And now these, I forgot what their name is . . . way up in southwest of California, I think. Well, they talk like us. I don't know their white man name but us Indians call them *tsai*. That has meaning of "red Comanches." That's what their name is. Then over there in Utah there's a bunch talk like us, and they talk easy, slow, say every word like us Comanches. They call us word means something like "they come from hot country." You know, some folks tell you that Comanches come from Mexico, but it ain't true. Comanches been here and there but they come from up north somewhere. My folks, as far as they can remember, come from Colorado near Denver somewhere, but it wasn't no Denver in them days. The army run my folks and their folks in Oklahoma, but we didn't belong here way back. We from Colorado. That's where my father's father was killed by them Utes. I still know that country from what the old people told me and what I ask them.

Migrations

In the late 1600s the Comanches began to migrate southward into contact with the Spanish settlements of New Spain and east onto the Plains. The Comanches most likely moved south to be nearer a source of horses, which they first acquired raiding with the Utes in northern New Mexico. The first large group of Comanches appeared in the New Mexico area around 1705. In the succeeding ten or fifteen years, with the Utes, they were constant sources of harassment to the Spanish settlements in the area. In approximately 1726, the Comanches, perhaps feeling their new power with the acquisition of the horse, turned on their former allies, the Utes. Many of the war stories told by Sanapia and some of my older Comanche informants tell of horse-raiding expeditions against the Utes.

In the early eighteenth century the Comanches began to expand to a greater degree onto the Plains. The contraction of the pedestrian Dismal River culture in the central Plains around 1725 is attributed by some authors to the energized predatory equestrian Comanche people. By the middle of the eighteenth century the Comanches had established themselves as a real threat to the Spanish settlements in New Mexico. At first, however, the Spanish policy toward the Comanches was relatively long-suffering because the existence of the mounted and war-like Comanches acted as a protective barrier on New Spain's eastern frontiers against intrusion from that direction by large numbers of French and English. During this period, however, the Comanches made treaties with certain tribes to the north who were sympathetic to the French, and thus French traders began to supply the Comanches with firearms, a trade item which the Spanish had always feared to release to the Comanches. In the late eighteenth century the dangerous situation provoked by the Comanche's acquisition of guns stimulated the Spanish to send military forces against the Comanches, whose center at that time was in southeastern Colorado. In approximately 1790 the northern Comanche bands, perhaps responding to the military pressures imposed by the Spanish, made an alliance with the Kiowa, an alliance which was never broken.

In 1820 Major Long encountered a large camp of Comanches on the upper great bend of the Arkansas River. Prior to this time the Comanches had little

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contact with the Anglo-Americans. In the latter part of the eighteen century and the early nineteenth century the Comanches had moved into an area which would roughly encompass southeastern Colorado, southwestern Kansas, central and western Oklahoma, and northern Texas. In fact, in 1834 General Leavenworth and Colonel Dodge met with a large encampment of northern Comanches about 10 miles north of Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on Chandler Creek within a mile of where Sanapia's house now stands.

Relationship to Shoshone

To gain a full appreciation of the roots of historical and contemporary Comanche society, two important phenomena must be considered—the Shoshonean basis of Comanche culture and the effects of the acquisition of the horse and the subsequent "plainsification" of this Shoshonean base culture. Since the similarities which the Comanches share with other Plains tribes are obvious, these will not be exhaustively discussed. Emphasis will be placed on those cultural traits which differentiate the Comanches from other Indian groups of the Plains and which illustrate Shoshonean influences in Comanche culture.

The physiography of the generic eastern Shoshonean habitat can be described as a Basin-Range type, an area of high, arid semidesert with sagebrush and juniper as the predominant floral cover (Kroeber 1939:798). This environment, in its relative meagerness, presented difficulties for peoples who attempted to inhabit it. Subsistence was gained mainly from gathering; seed, bulb, and root collecting; and small-game hunting in the southeastern Basin-Range area. The land could not support a large group of people in one place for any length of time. Therefore, the pattern of small nomadic bands was necessitated. There was no clan organization. Residence after marriage depended on which family had the greatest food surplus at the time. There was no bride price, and marriages were generally unstable, the partners separating at will. Fraternal wife lending occurred, as well as the customary marriage of a deceased wife's sister to the widower. No strict rules of avoidance existed.

Political organization was as rudimentary as social organization. There were no chiefs or councils. Since the old men of the various local groups had from long experience gained a great knowledge of the area, there developed a passive dominance of the aged. The Medicine man or shaman was probably the most influential individual in this culture. The tenuous nature of subsistence provided for elaboration of hunting magic and a dependence on individual and group rapport with the supernatural.

Religious Patterns

Religious patterns included a belief in a vaguely defined Great Spirit who was the fountainhead of all power but who did not interfere in human affairs. This power could be obtained by men through dreams in which a super-

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Their greatest source of irritation during this span of time was the growing white settlements of Texas. It was during this period of increased contact with Texas that the divisions of the Comanche bands into northern, middle, western, and southern began to acquire a new meaning—one couched in terms of degree of acculturation and the hostilities engendered between the tradition-oriented and conservative Comanche bands and the well-acculturated Comanche bands.

As early as 1779 Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza of New Spain had recognized the highly independent band organization of Comanche society. The term "tribe" had no political significance for the Comanches. Comanche society consisted of a number of independent and sometimes hostile bands which were linked by only the awareness that they were all *nəmənə*, or "The People." Each band exploited a vaguely defined range within the Comanche country and, with the notable exception of the "Quick Stinger" band, never made war on other bands. There were no pervasive political institutions among the Comanche to mold the bands into a political unit. No tribal council, no joint economic activity, and no ceremonial occasion existed that could unite all the bands for even a brief period of time. The various bands even dealt separately with the United States government. The first and last time that a majority of the bands came together was for the occassion of the first Comanche Sun Dance in 1874, held in the dying moments of the old, free nomadic Comanche culture. This first attempt to organize as a tribe, unfortunately for the Comanches, was attempted too late, for by this time the end of the nomadic Comanche life way was but a year in the future.

The Spanish government of New Spain considered the Comanches as being organized into three major bands. The Anglo-Americans also designated three divisions—northern, middle, and southern. Wallace and Hoebel (1925:25) record that Robert S. Neighbors, in 1860, cited the existence of eight Comanche bands; James Mooney later listed thirteen; Robert Lowie in 1912 mentioned only four. The Santa Fe Laboratory group in 1933 was able to gain information concerning thirteen bands. I was able to find evidence of five Comanche bands—*yapai* ("Root Eaters"), *kwahada* ("Antelopes"), *ɧənitaiβ* ("Corn White Men"); or *pɛnatɜkɔ* ("Eating Honey All the Time"), *honono* ("Hill People"), and *noyaka* or *nokoni* ("Always Moving Around").

Comanche Bands

There is no information on the origins of the various bands or their pre-contact composition and geographical placement. In the following discussion of the major Comanche bands the reconstructed situation is that of the Comanche in their historic territory from approximately the late eighteenth century until the disintegration of the old nomadic Comanche culture in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The largest Comanche band was the *pɛnatɜkɔ*, or "Honey Eaters," the southernmost Comanche band. At various times they were known as the "Hospitables," "No Meat," "Steep Climbers," "Wasps" or "Quick Stingers," and "Timber People." This band was the vanguard of the Comanches' southward migration.

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101 619 621 [177] The final territory they held was northcentral Texas. Early references by Anglo-Americans concerning the Comanches pertain mainly to these people. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:25) mention that they lived near the white settlements and associated more with the Caddos, Wichitas, and whites in historic times than with their western and northern kinsmen. Both their tradition and that of the northern Comanche bands tell how the two lost contact for a long period of time. It was only with the northern Comanches' raids into Mexico that the two groups finally reestablished ties.

619 621 657 177 101 The *penatsko* were put on reservations in Texas in 1854, while the majority of Comanches continued to raid freely throughout Texas. The reservation experiment failed, largely because of pressure from the white citizenry, and was ended in 1858. By this time the power of the Honey Eaters was minimal and, because of their proximity to the Texas settlements, they were made to suffer for many of the crimes perpetrated by the "wild" western and northern Comanches.

619 621 101 The *nokoni*, "Those Who Move Often," was the major band representing the middle Comanches. The center of their range was the Pease River region of Texas. The *tanima*, "Liver Eaters," and *kutsueka*, "Buffalo Eaters," composed the remaining middle Comanche bands, sharing the range of the *nokoni*.

The *kwahada*, "Antelope" band, is the representative of the western Comanches. They probably drifted south at approximately the same time as the *yapai* band and later moved onto the staked Plains. In late historic times the *kwahada* band was the most warlike of the Comanches and the last band to surrender to the United States Army.

The *yapai*, or *Yamparika*, "Yap Eaters," occupied the northernmost reaches of the Comanche country. The *yapai* was probably the last band to break from the Shoshonean traditions. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:27) write that the Fort Hall Shoshone of Idaho call all Comanches *Yamparika*. During the late nineteenth century they were situated from the south side of the Arkansas River to the Canadian River.

Acculturation and Schism

657 621 619 The reservation and postreservation period wrought great changes in the function and composition of the Comanche bands. Matters of protection, subsistence, and territory were taken from the control of the Comanches and brought under the power of various agencies of, or appointed by, the federal government. It was only with the land allotments of the Jerome Act in 1901 and 1905 that the members of the various bands were able to assert their band identity once again in real estate. Today, in Comanche, Cotton, and Caddo counties, the ancient geo-
101 graphic distribution of the four major bands is stated in miniature. The *yapai*
619 are still the northernmost band, centered in the area delimited by the Oklahoma
621 communities of Medicine Park, Meers, Elgin, Fletcher, Cyril, Apache, and Bonne. The *nokoni* are located south of the *yapai* and north of Lawton, Oklahoma. The greatest density of *kwahada* population is in western Comanche County in the

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towns of Cache, Snyder, and Indiahoma. The *penatɜkə* continue to be the southernmost of the Comanche bands, centered in the vicinity of Walters, Oklahoma.

Perhaps the most ubiquitous and pervasive problems which have confronted the Comanche in the twentieth century are those directly associated with the process of acculturation with the dominant white culture. The traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal schism which has appeared as a disruptive force in contemporary Comanche society very closely follows band boundaries. As might be expected, the southern band, the *penatɜkə*, a people with a relatively long history of white contact experience, have been more successful in their transition into the twentieth century than have the *yapai* Comanches, the band with the least amount of contact experience. At present the *penatɜkə* are the progressive and liberal Comanches, while the *yapai* stand as the rallying point for all traditionally oriented and conservative Comanches. The *yapai* are joined in the traditionalist camp by the *kwahada* and the *nɔkoni*. This major division is thought of by the Comanches as a division between the northern "tribes" and the southern "tribes."

Most contemporary northern Comanches do not use the term *penatɜkə* for the southern people; rather they call them *hɔnitaiβo*, which means "eat corn like a white man," or, more literally, "corn white men." They are often referred to in English as "Freckles," alluding to the great degree of mixed-blood Comanches who, the northerners believe, fill the southerner's ranks. The southern Comanches are less colorful than the northerners in their invectives, simply stating that the northerners are, for the most part, uneducated, drunken, shiftless, and generally responsible for the poor reputation which the Comanches possess in many of the white communities in southern Oklahoma.

Historical indications of the basis for the present-day dichotomy of Comanche society are suggested by Richardson in *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (1933). Perhaps the most significant single factor responsible for the subsequent divisiveness of the northern and southern Comanche bands is the geographic distance which separated them well into historic times. At the peak of Comanche territorial expansion, as many as 600 miles could have separated the northern bands, ranging in southern Colorado and southwestern Kansas, from southern bands, inhabiting northcentral Texas.

The Kiowa and northern Comanches made a treaty in 1790 which did not include the southern Comanche bands. This treaty was never broken. During the Texas Revolution the southern bands refrained from taking advantage of the chaos in Texas to raid and plunder, while the northern Comanches and their Kiowa allies joined to make one of the most destructive Indian raids in Texas history. After the Mexican defeat in 1837 the Cherokee chief, Bowl, was commissioned to visit the various Comanche bands to seek peace. The southerners were cooperative and friendly; the northerners, however, were insulting and hostile. In the 1850s when the southern bands were put on reservations in Texas, the northern bands continued their raiding activities with the Kiowas. During this time agent officials complained of the demoralizing effects which the northern Comanches had on the southern reservation wards. Further, members of the

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With regard to Sanapia's niece's child, Sanapia said that she knew who had witched the girl but did not tell the mother for fear of frightening her. Sanapia does not suggest that any supernatural talents are involved in the ability to identify the witch. Since Sanapia believes that witchcraft can only be operated by those with a high degree of *puha*, the field of possibilities is immediately narrowed. She evaluates the community in which the witch's victim lives and, through a process of elimination, selects the witch. She does not make her choice known for fear of frightening the victim or his parents, as has been mentioned, and also because she feels that if her accusations are made public, it would only cause further dissension among the Comanche people. She feels that there is enough tension among the Comanches without adding accusations of witchcraft.

The Contemporary Situation

This chapter has dealt with Sanapia's treatment of a victim who has been witched by the magical insertion of the malevolent essence of an eagle plume. Sanapia doctors also among the Wind River Shoshone, southern Cheyenne, southern and northern Arapaho, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Ponca, Creek, and Fort Sill Apache, as well as the Comanche; and thus she has confronted cases of witchcraft other than the variety which has been described in this chapter. Her general approach to a cure, however, is similar in all cases. She feels that the body of the victim has been put out of balance by some tangible or intangible entity; therefore, to correct the abnormal condition, she works to remove that which is causing this physiological disequilibrium.

Given the antagonistic feelings beween the northern and southern Comanches and the fact that patterns of witchcraft exist, it would seem that there would be a high rate of intergroup witchcraft, at least being directed by the northerners. This does not appear to be the case, a major reason being that the southerners generally do not respond. They consider witches and witchcraft merely superstitious beliefs, or, at best, nonexistent in modern times. A further possible explanation of this lack of intergroup witchcraft is the special distribution of the Comanche bands—the more traditionally oriented bands cluster in the north and northwest of the Comanche area while the more fully acculturated band members are found in the south and southwest. There may be as many as 40 miles separating members of these two groups. Therefore, there is no necessity for daily social interaction between members of the opposing "tribes," which could reduce the generalized hostilities to more intense and socially unsettling personal conflict, thus better facilitating the desire and the opportunity for the execution of witchcraft.

Witchcraft among contemporary Comanches is mainly intergenerational. Older men and women, feeling their life power fading, turn to malevolent magic in an attempt to augment their failing social prestige and to defend themselves against the more vital younger generation. The few cases of witchcraft which I was able to investigate among the Comanches followed this general pattern of essentially intergenerational jealousy and tension. This was also the basic

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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the Indian customers. Later he ran another check on the accuracy of our bookkeeping. He passed this information on to the Indians. I can well remember my embarrassment when one day, after he had finished his investigations, the Reverend Mr. Deyo shook my hand and thanked me for "dealing honestly with my people." It seemed just a little hard for him to understand that a white merchant would voluntarily deal honestly with the Indians. But I am sure Dad, Mother, and I would have been just as puzzled had anyone suggested we deal any other way. At least, I never heard the subject discussed.

I am positive that at the time I had never heard the word "romantic," but it represents the way I thought about the Comanches in our trade territory. They belonged to the group known as Quohadie Tejas, or Antelope Eaters. Their range had been the high plains, centered in what is now the Texas Panhandle, and their leader was Quanah Parker. They had fought at Adobe Walls and in June, 1876, had been the last of the Comanches to surrender to the Army. By simple arithmetic, I knew that every male from the late forties upward had been a warrior. For my own convenience in thinking of them, I separated them into a group I called "the old fellows."

There was another group I didn't have to separate out, those ranging in age from their late teens to the late thirties or early forties. They separated themselves out. Not only did they hold themselves aloof from the whites, but there was a separateness between them and the older Indians—apparently including their own parents.

I learned that these particular Indians had been East to a school financed by the government at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. I learned that most of them had the equivalent of a high school education, and some had done college work. Now that they were home with the tribe, they made not the slightest move to use what they had learned, either to better their own condition or to be of assistance to the tribe.

They talked only Comanche among themselves, and wouldn't speak English when conversing with whites if they could make themselves understood by grunts, sign language, or pointing. I called these Indians the Carlisle group.

These young men and older boys, as well as the girls of the same age group, were better-looking Indians than the older, warrior-aged group and their squaws. It was most noticeable in their legs, which were straighter and better developed and appeared longer—the bandy look of the oldsters' legs had disappeared. These young Indians had

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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About the time we were wondering what we would do with ourselves during the long day in front of us, the Indians began to arrive in their little canvas-covered wagons.

The first two or three dozen wagons used up all the hitchracks in the little town. By noon there must have been 150 of the little miniature prairie schooners parked around the group of buildings that was our town. When the hitchracks were filled, the later arrivals pulled up out on the grass, unhitched, and tied the horses to the rear wheels of the wagons.

These were not our Indians. These were Comanches from the west and north, along the south side of the Wichita Mountains. All of them were in at least the second day of their journey. They were on their way to an ancient tribal gathering place, across the Red River in Texas. Bands of Comanches had been using this gathering place since before there were white men in North Texas.

Apparently they had arranged to rendezvous at our little settlement, the last trading place on their trail, and make the rest of their journey together. In a little over two miles they would enter the Pasture Reserve, and it would be two more days' journey to the river. The ancient gathering place was on land controlled by the Burnett Ranch. The Burnetts, who had a history of getting along with the Comanches, encouraged the Indians to continue gathering there for their tribal powwows.

Just as there had been a shortage of hitchracks, soon there was a shortage of floor space in the store. For hours the only unoccupied floor was behind the counters. Of course the focal point for everyone—men, squaws, and children—was the stove. After slightly more than sixty years, I still have no desire to describe the scent of all those damp bodies crowded together, mingled with the steam rising from the clothing of those fortunate enough to get within the radius of the stove's heat.

I never knew when our Indians, that is to say the Indians living in our trade territory, joined these strange Comanches. They may even have started the day before. During the several hours these Indians were in town, I saw but an occasional face I had seen before. They were laying in a food supply to last during the time of their gathering, and as a result, by the time we had their wants appeased, our staple groceries were exhausted.

Owing to the inclement weather, they likewise stripped us of

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no one to compare him with, white or Indian. He was as unique as a new day dawning to the east of the slightly undulating prairie he loved.

He was born into the Comanche stone-age society, probably in 1861 or '62. Their great inland empire, Comanchería, was still intact. History testifies that it had been theirs for 150 years. But that was only the length of time the white man had known the Comanche. From 1700, their ownership stretches back into the dimness of conjecture. Some anthropologists tell us the Comanche had been a separate and distinct tribe for a thousand years when the white man first met him. In any case, in 1861 Comanchería, more than six hundred miles north and south and almost as wide in places, contained thousands of horses to be captured and claimed and millions of buffalo, deer, and antelope for the Comanche's food.

But when the Civil War ended in 1865, a great horde of restless men was released by both armies. Nearly all craved land. Each wanted a home of his own, a place to grow and expand. The Comanche, other plains tribes, and the buffalo were in their road. Comanchería and the horse buffalo culture came to an end.

Sometimes Wer-que-yah would talk a little of when the Comanche world ended for him. Somewhere, out on the Comanche prairie, in what the white man had labeled the Texas Panhandle, his group was overrun by the Army. The unwounded warriors escaped, but the wounded, the aged, and the women and children were captured and taken to Fort Sill.

The Comanche Family Record Book at Anadarko, Oklahoma, indicates that Wer-que-yah would have been fourteen, and the girl he afterward married, Peet-So, six years old at the time of their capture. This would have been in the last half of 1874 or the first half of '75.

Lieutenant General P. H. Sheridan, commander of the Army in the Middle West, was determined to bring the Indian wars to an end, once and for all. He secured President Grant's consent to place the Army of the Southwest on a twelve months a year, all-out war basis. Provisions for such an effort were assembled, including grain and forage for the horses and mules, and five columns were ordered into the field.

Lieutenant Colonel J. N. Davidson was ordered west out of Fort Sill. He commanded six troops of the 10th Cavalry, three companies of the 11th Infantry, two howitzers, and eighty-five newly recruited

A /Wer-que-yah--Analyst/

101 **Comanche.** One of the southern tribes of the Shoshonean stock, and the only one of that group living entirely on the plains. Their language and traditions show that they are a comparatively recent offshoot from the Shoshoni of Wyoming, both tribes speaking practically the same dialect and, until very recently, keeping up constant and friendly communication. Within the traditionary period the 2 tribes lived adjacent to each other in s. Wyoming, since which time the Shoshoni have been beaten back into the mountains by

ASAHABIT—PENATEKA COMMANCHE

the Sioux and other prairie tribes, while the Comanche have been driven steadily southward by the same pressure. In this southerly migration the Penateka seem to have preceded the rest of the tribe. The Kiowa say that when they themselves moved southward from the Black-hills region, the Arkansas was the x. boundary of the Comanche.

[p. 327A]

221
224 The Comanche were nomad buffalo
hunters, constantly on the move, cultiva-
ting little from the ground, and living
181 in skin tipis. They were long noted as the
finest horsemen of the plains and bore a
(186) reputation for dash and courage. They
have a high sense of honor and hold
themselves superior to the other tribes
142 with which they are associated. In per-
son they are well built and rather corpu-
197 lent. Their language is the trade lan-
guage of the region and is more or less
understood by all the neighboring tribes.
[194] It is sonorous and flowing, its chief char-
acteristic being a rolling *r*. The lan-
guage has several dialects.

614 The gentile system seems to be unknown
among the Comanche. They have, or still
● 101 remember, 12 recognized divisions or bands
621 and may have had others in former times.
Of these all but 5 are practically extinct.
The Kwahari and Penateka are the most
[115] important. Following, in alphabetic or-
der, is the complete list as given by their
leading chiefs: Detsanayuka or Nokoni;
Ditsakana, Widyu, Yapa, or Yamparika;
Kewatsana; Kotsai; Kotsoteka; Kwahari
or Kwahadi; Motsai; Pagatsu; Penateka
or Penande; Pohoi (adopted Shoshoni);
Tanima; Tenawa or Tenahwit; Waaih.
101 In addition to these the following have
also been mentioned by writers as divi-
sions of the Comanche: Guagejohe, Mu-
vinabore, Nauniem, Parkeenaum. See
Dotame. (J. M.)

Allebome.—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 39, 1806 (so called by the French; see *Ne'-mo-sin*, below). **Bald Heads.**—Long, Exped. Rocky Mts., I, 155, 1823. **Bo'dálk'inagc.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Kiowa name: 'reptile people', 'snake men'). **Cadouca.**—Domenech, Deserts N. Am., II, 100, 1860 (misprint of Padouca). **Camanche.**—Pike, Trav., xiv, 214, note, 1811. **Camanchees.**—Pilcher in Sen. Doc. 198, 25th Cong., 2d sess., 29, 1838. **Camarsches.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 367, 1822. **Ca'-tha.**—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol. Mo. Val., 326, 1862 ('having many horses'; Arapaho name). **Caumuches.**—La Harpe (1719) in Margry, Déc., VI, 289, 1886. **Caunouche.**—Beaurain, ibid. **Caw-mainh.**—Gebow, Shoshonay Vocab., 8, 1868 (Shoshoni name). **Comanlos.**—Escalante (1776) misquoted by Harry in Simpson, Explor. across Utah, 495, 1876. **Cintu-aluka.**—Corliss, Dacotah MS. vocab., B. A. E., 106, 1874 (Teton name). **Comanoes.**—Schoolcraft, Pers. Mem., 620, 1851. **Comanche.**—Barreiro, Ojeada, app., 9, 1832. **Comanchees.**—Abert in Emory, Recon., 470, 1848. **Comanchero.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, II, 56, 1844 (Spanish form). **Comanches.**—Sanchez (1757) in Doc. Hist. Mex., 4th s., I, 88, 1856. **Comanchos.**—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Apr. 10, 1863. **Comandes.**—Maximilian, Trav., 510, 1843. **Comandua.**—Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus, I, 336, 1841. **Comanshima.**—Bourke, Moquis of Ariz., 118, 1884 (Hopi name). **Comantz.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, II, 54, 1844 (Comanche pronunciation). **Comauch.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 374, 1822 (misprint). **Cumanche.**—Doc. of 1720 quoted by Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Pap., V, 183, 1890. **Cumanciss.**—Long, Exped. to Rocky Mts., I, 478, 1823. **Cumeshes.**—Schermerhorn in Mass. Hist. Coll., II, 29, 1812. **Da'tsi-a's.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Kiowa Apache name). **Gyai'-ko.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 ('enemies': Kiowa name). **Idahi.**—Ibid. (Kiowa Apache name). **Indé.**—Hodge, field notes, B. A. E., 1895 (Jicarilla name).

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33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Ka-mâa'-tsi.—Dorsey, MS. Biloxi Dict., B. A. E., 1822 (Biloxi name). **Kamanitsh.**—Burton, City of Saints, 75, note, 1861. **Kamanchos.**—Jefferys, Am. Atlas, map 5, 1776 (probably the same). **Komantsa.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 249, 1877. **Kondta.**—ten Kate, Reizen in N. Am., 326, 1885 (Ute form). **Ku-man-i-a-kwe.**—Cushing, Inf'n, 1891 (Zuñi form). **La Padda.**—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 64, 1806 (French name; *cf. La Playes*, below). **La Plais.**—Long, Exped. Rocky Mts., I, 155, 1823 (French traders' name; perhaps corrupted from Tête Pelée). **La Play.**—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 17, 1806. **La Playes.**—Lewis and Clark, Trav., 177, 1809. **La'ri'kta.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Pawnee name). **Le Plays.**—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 17, 1806. **Los Mocos.**—Bollaert in Jour. Ethnol. Soc. Lond., II, 265, 1850 (Mexican name). **Mahán.**—Hodge, field notes, B. A. E., 1895 (Isleta name). **Mâhaaa.**—Ibid. (Taos name). **Mamaseen.**—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 30, 1806 (*sq. Ne'-mo-sin*, below). **Na'lani.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Navaho name: 'many aliens,' or 'many enemies'; collective term for plains tribes). **Na'sita.**—Ibid. (Kichai name). **Nar-a-tah.**—Neighbors in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, II, 126, 1852 (Waco name). **Na'tás'.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Wichita name: 'snakes,' i. e. 'enemies' or 'dandies)'. **Nâtaé.**—Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, II, ix, 1852. **Na-u-ni.**—Ibid., I, 518, 1851. **Nazanos.**—ten Kate, Reizen N. Am., 6, 1885 (Navaho name: 'rich ones'). **Nemausin.**—Schermerhorn in Mass. Hist. Coll., 2d s., II, 28, 1812 (see *Ne'-mo-sin*, below). **Némo' nâ.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (own name). **Nemissau.**—Brown, West. Gaz., 213, 1817. **Nemousin.**—Am. State Papers, IV, 716, 1832. **Nemosen.**—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 23, 1806. **Ne'-mo-sin.**—Ibid., 99 (given as their own name; rove with Kiowa, Kiowa Apache, and others at heads of Platte and Cheyenne r.; apparently a misprint of *Nêmo'nê* or *Nimênim*, the Comanche name for themselves). **Nemousin.**—Orig. Jour. Lewis and Clark, VI, 102, 1905. **Neum.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 168, 1859 (own name). **Ne'-una.**—Buschmann (1859) quoted by Gatschet, Karankawa Inds., 53, 1891. **Ne'-una.**—Ibid. **Nimênim.**—ten Kate, Reizen in N. Am., 382, 1885 (own name: 'people of people'). **Nimi-ou-ain.**—Orig. Jour. Lewis and Clark, VI, 102, 1905. **Ni'-um.**—Hoffman in Pac. Am. Philos. Soc., XXIII, 300, 1886 (own name). **Nianas.**—Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, VI, 34, 1857. **Nôta-oah.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Wichita name: 'snakes,' 'enemies'). **No-taw.**—Marcy, Explor. Red R., 273, 1854 (Wichita name). **Nôma.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (own name: 'people'). **Padacua.**—Lewis and Clark, Trav., 89, 1807 (misprint). **Padáka.**—Dorsey, MS., B. A. E., 1878 (Omaha and Ponka name). **Padawa.**—Perrin du Lac, Voy. La., 261, 1805. **Padiuca.**—Pike, Trav., 347, 1811. **Padoka.**—Fabry (1741) in Margry, Déc., VI, 475, 1886. **Padoucas.**—Brackenridge, Views of La., 80, 1815. **Padoucca.**—Morse, N. Am., map, 1776. **Padoo.**—Orig. Jour. Lewis and Clark, VI, 104, 1905 (Canadian French "nickname"). **Paducaha.**—Hutchins (1764) quoted by Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, III, 557, 1853. **Padouca.**—De l'Isle, map, 1712 (Siouan name; perhaps a contraction of Penateka.—Mooney). **Padoucca.**—McKenney and Hall, Ind. Tribes, III, 82, 1854. **Padoucins.**—Orig. Jour. Lewis and Clark, VI, 108, 1905. **Padua.**—Clarke in Jour. Anthrop. Inst., IV, 192, 1875. **Paducaha.**—Kingsley, Stand. Nat. Hist., pt. 6, 186, 1883. **Paducas.**—Jefferys, Fr. Dom. Am., pt. I, map, 1761. **Paduka.**—Dorsey, MS., B. A. E., 1882 (Kansa name). **Paduka.**—Hervas, Idea dell' Univ., XVII, 90, 1784. **Pah-to-saka.**—Butler in H. R. Ex. Doc. 76, 29th Cong., 2d sess., 6, 1847. **Panaloga.**—McKenney and Hall, Ind. Tribes, III, 81, 1858. **Pandoga.**—Boudinot, Star in the West, 128, 1816. **Pandouca.**—Cass in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, III, 586, 1853. **Panaloga.**—Donay (1867) in Shea, Miss. Valley, 222, 1852 (probably the same; there are many misprints and derivatives of this word, all probably being traceable to this source). **Panalogo.**—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol. Mo. Val., 409, 1862. **Panalosa.**—Ibid., 346 (from Donay, 1867; misprint). **Panatoca.**—Harris, Coll. Voy. and

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●101 **Trav., I, map, 666, 1709. Panetenka.**—La Hontan, New Voy., I, 130, 1703. **Panoussa.**—Perkins and Peck, Ann. of West, 669, 1850. **Paoducas.**—Alcedo, Dic. Geog., II, 630, 1787. **Par-too-ku.**—Neighbors in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, II, 126, 1852. **Pa-tee'-xa.**—David & Cyr, inf'n (Winnebago name). **Pa-tee'-xē-jā.**—Ibid. **Patouca.**—Barcia, Ensayo, 298, 1723. **Pa-thh-kā.**—Grayson MS. vocab., B. A. E., 1835 (Creek name). **Pa'-tu-kā.**—Dorsey, Kwapa MS. vocab., B. A. E., 1891 (Quapaw name). **Pazuká.**—Dorsey, MS., B. A. E., 1883 (Osage name). **Pazuka.**—Ibid., 1881 (Iowa, Oto, and Missouri name). **Peducas.**—Perrin du Lac, Voy., 223, 1805. **Pen loca.**—Shea, Peñalosa, 21, note, 1882. **Sánka.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (obsolete Kiowa name). **Sau'hto.**—Ibid. (Caddo name). **Sau'-tuy.**—ten Kate, Synonymie, 16, 1884 (Caddo name). **Selakampém.**—Gatschet, Comecrudo MS., B. A. E. (Comecrudo name for all warlike tribes, especially the Comanche). **Shishiniwetsitan.**—ten Kate, Reizen in N. Am., 361, 1885 (Cheyenne name: 'snake people'). **Shishine'wits-Itániw'.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Cheyenne name: 'snake people'). **Shi'shinéwĭts-hitä'neo.**—Mooney, inf'n, 1906 (correct Cheyenne name). **Snake Indians.**—Brackenridge, Views of La., 80, 1815 (see also under *Ietan*). **Sow-a-to.**—Neighbors in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, II, 126, 1852 (Caddo name). **Tête Pelée.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (French traders' name. "The identification is doubtful, as the Comanche cut their hair only when mourning"). **Têtes pelées.**—Perrin du Lac, Voy., 261, 1805. **Yampah.**—Stuart, Montana, 25, 1865 (Shoshoni name). **Yă'mpaini.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1045, 1896 (Shoshoni name: 'yampa people,' or 'yampa eaters'; cf. *Omaumaah*, above). **Yämpairi'kani.**—Ibid.

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[P.329-B not Processed]

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

ARTIFACTS COLLECTED BY JEAN LOUIS BERLANDIER AMONG THE INDIAN TRIBES OF TEXAS

A small but historically important group of artifacts collected by Jean Louis Berlandier among the Indians of Texas is preserved in the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology. The French scientist made no reference to these specimens in his Indian manuscript, but a few of his original labels, written in French and in his own hand, are preserved with the collection. All but one of the artifacts are recorded as Comanche.[1]

Whether Berlandier collected these specimens during his travels in Texas as biologist for the Mexican Comisión de Límites, 1828–31, or during the succeeding two decades, while he lived in Matamoros, Mexico, just south of the Rio Grande, we do not know. Comanche war parties raided as far south as the Gulf Coast of Texas during the 1840s. William Bollaert's drawing of objects taken from a Comanche party who raided Corpus Christi in June 1844 pictures artifacts which closely resemble some of those in the Berlandier collection (see Figure 18). Although the collection can be dated no more precisely than 1828–51 (i.e. between Berlandier's arrival in Texas in 1828 and his death near Matamoros in 1851), we may consider it to be representative of Comanche Indian material culture during the second quarter of the 19th century. As such, it comprises either *the* earliest, or one of the earliest, extant collections from the largest nomadic tribe of Texas during the historic period—the Comanche.

These objects complement both Berlandier's descriptions and Lino Sánchez y Tapia's watercolors in rounding out Berlandier's unique record of the Comanche prior to 1850. Not for fully another quarter century was the

1. Artifacts from the Berlandier collection are entered in the first two catalog books of Smithsonian collections which are preserved in the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology.

35: United States W-4 (no date) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005

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Federal Trust Area
Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72)

659
161

LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes) 659
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres 423
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. (648)
This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1946.

HISTORY AND CULTURE
The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter.

197 175 131 173 231 198 361 311 181 703 262 175 648

For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache.

Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each. (657)